2: Schaden--136 E-4,5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

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personality. Thus, in the course of the years he forms -- obviously on the common doctrinal foundation -- his own conception of the world, his interpretive system, with more or less "heterodox" innovations or "aberrations," according to his personal tendencies and experiences. According to León Cadogan, who encountered similar difficulties in his research /111/ among the Mbüá of Paraguay, there is a notable rigidity and uniformity in the conjunction of the private, secret doctrines of the doctor-sorcerers, while the public religious representations are subject to great variation.

Secondly, the multiplicity of ideas and beliefs should be interpreted in terms of incongruences stemming from contacts with the Christian religion, on the one hand, and from the fusion of the different subgroup doctrines produced by the migrations, which have led to the formation of villages in which are gathered together, in the same community of cult and life, families of two or even so far as the three subgroups.

2. The theory of conception and reincarnation and the notion of soul

According to Guaraní doctrine, the nature of the human soul is sufficient by itself to make the individual not only fit for the religious life, but also to lead him to the destiny that falls to him. The idea of the human soul, as the Guaraní conceives it -- that is, his primitive Psychology -- constitutes without any doubt the key indispensable for a comprehension of the whole religious system, for which reason it merits special attention in this work.

On the other hand, the notion of soul becomes comprehensible with greater facility starting from the beliefs concerning conception.

The ideas concerning the connection existing between conception and sexual relations are obscure. In any case the former is attributed above anything else to supernatural causes, being realized for the Ñandéva preferably by way of the dream, an explanation which, by the way, is also accepted by aborigines of

2: Schaden--137 E-4, 5 (1948-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

/111 cont./

704 many other regions of the globe (3).
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3. /From p. 149 of the original source./ "... in some primitive tribes, such as, for example, the Australian aborigines, it is the man who conceives the child, dreaming about it and telling the dream to his wife. Thus in this way a child is occasionally born to them, for which the woman only performs the function of hatcher, hatching the egg that has arrived owing to the good graces of the husband" (Montagu, 1962). And thus many examples.

842 According to Poýdjú from Araribá, nowadays many Ñandéva already
178 admit that the children are "made by the father," but "the old
833 belief is that they are sent by Ñanderuvutsú and Ñanderykeý."
779 But there is also always recognized -- he tells me -- the need for sexual relations for conception. And they were necessary simply because Ñanderykeý wanted it to be so. Therefore, the
842 child is sent by the gods. The father receives it in a dream,
787 tells the dream to the mother, and she becomes pregnant. When
774 the mother conceives without the father's having dreamed, it is
776 because the ayvú(kué) (soul) had already been looking for the woman in order to be born or reborn by her. The woman, too, may have the dream, either of a boy or of a girl, but being a boy, the child is considered the son of the father, that is, he came from Ñanderú(vutsú) and Ñanderykeý to the father. The male child is a child of the father, the female /112/ one is of
842 the mother. This in spite of the fact that within the structure
846 of the family consanguinity is considered bilateral and not bi-
611 linear and that the father, for example, is subject to couvade even when a daughter is born to him (4).

611 4. /From p. 149 of the original source./ In
171 spite of the different impression gained by the

/112 cont./

842 After some time she became pregnant. And twins were born.
159 They are Cândido Rondon and Nicolau Marcolino. They are
787 now three years old. "Since then I have believed what the ñanderú said. Before I did not pray. I did not 'abuse' it, but sometimes I doubted. Now I do not doubt any more." Before this Poýdjú, so he says, had no prayer, that is, he had not received in a dream individual inspiration in this sense. He says that he grew old without a prayer. Later he received two more prayers. When I met him, he had three. Some people, as we shall see, have more prayers. Poýdjú's wife, called Takuãporĩ,
[775] has four. On the occasion of my visits, Poýdjú's eldest son had not yet been reborn, but he had already sent a prayer (the third one) to his father in a dream. The other prayer (the second one) was sent by the brother, Avákaudjú. The latter had not yet been reborn either.

77 One might suspect the existence of a contradiction in the
787 informant's report: saying first that the children are sent by
842 Ñanderú and Ñanderykeý, then deceased persons are referred to as bearers of "souls," respectively "prayers." But it is that the deities do not always appear personally in the dream; sometimes they send the dead to bring the prayers to those who are grieved here on earth. And another important fact is to be noted in Poýdjú's explanations: there is, in a certain sense, a mystical identification between the souls /113/ sent to earth in order to be (re)incarnated and the prayers, porahêi, which the individual receives as gifts from the supernatural world and which he uses, in any situation, in order to get in contact with the deities and have religious consolation.

775 The doctrine of conception and reincarnation taught by
• 224 Fernando Tapari, religious chief of the Ñandéva village of
842 Jacareí, is summarized as follows: Ñandedjára ("Our Lord") can
[756] send to the parents a child that has not yet lived in this world.
[622] It is on the occasion of the birth that the soul, ñeẽ ("speech"), is conferred on him. In case of reincarnation, it is always the
[833] spirit of a dead child that is reborn by the same mother, the conception taking place either at the time of death or later, without need of sexual relations.

2: Schaden--140 E-4, 5 (1948-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

/113 cont./

775 774 842 796 787 756 776

without need of sexual relations. And if the child is not reincarnated immediately after the death, there is recourse to various djeroky (religious dances) being performed to this end, weeks or months later. After these ceremonies, the ñanderú, "in a dream," goes to the celestial region of Tupãsy (Mother of God), who then gathers together all the children who are found with her. The choice is made by the criterion of the ñanderú, who can bring the same one or another one, even of different sex.

[182] From the social point of view, the Ñandéva theory of reincarnation has an important function by guaranteeing the continuity between the past generations and the future ones (5).

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5. /From pp. 149-150 of the original source./ Although the comparative study of the Guaraní culture with those of other tribal populations is not included among the objectives of this essay, it is necessary to make an exception with regard to this point in order to cite a passage that shows the profound similarity of the Guaraní doctrine of reincarnation with the ideas of the Eskimo of Coronado Gulf: "The manner in which they talked to children seemed very enigmatic. Sometimes he (the explorer Vilhjalmur Stefánsson) would hear an Eskimo woman address her own child of male sex by the name "grandmother." On another occasion she called another woman's child "father." This is derived from a curious belief of this tribe. When a person (whether of the female or male sex) dies in the village, the soul of the deceased remains there nearby in the air for a while, without a body, and in hope of beginning life in a body again. Then, upon the birth of the first little child, it is immediately possessed by the soul that had lost its body through death. The baby receives the name,

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of the dead man or woman, and the network of kinship relations previously belonging to the one who died is recognized as belonging to this one. -- Such a paradoxical state lasts only during the years of childhood. Little by little the new boy or the new girl acquires a new personality, which is one's own during one's life. He or she receives an own name, being classified, as regards kinship, according to the new facts. After this no one seems to be concerned any longer about the soul or personality of the dead person. His career as a distinct being is as though ended and closed. He does not need to have a separate existence, because the time of life is passed on from one hand to another, and the previous hand can withdraw to non-being, without disturbance and without prejudice." Dodge, 1948. It is a summary and rather good interpretation of what one reads on pp. 395-403 of Stefánsson, 1951.

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Alongside those who believe that there are children with souls that have never been on the earth (like Poýdjú, who also admits the hypothesis that not all persons are reborn, and a quasi heretic, the ñanderú Fernando Tapari of Jacareí, who only recognizes the rebirth of children, but not of adults), there are those who are more radical, who insist (as the ñandeqú Bastião of Araribá does) that every person is the bearer of a "reincarnated spirit" and that all "spirits" have already lived on this earth. Thus another important function is strengthened, that of the continual communion between this world and the Beyond, which for the Guaraní mind constitute one indissoluble whole.

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2t Schaden--143 E-4,5 (1948-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani 8344

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77 And it contributes, finally, to the mystical identification of
842 the earthly humanity with the celestial one -- i.e., the
184 tavýterẽ --, the constant theme of the religious songs of the Kayová. Through conception the celestial children (tavytera) are incarnated, sent by the civilizer hero Paĩ Kuará, and come mainly from a region of the firmament, the yrukúýtétẽ, located in the direction of the southwest. The child that dies returns to the yrukúýtétẽ; it may be reincarnated, being reborn by the same mother, if the family grieves greatly over the death of the little one. Adults, however, do not return to earth, nor would they want to. (This principally according to explanations
[833] by Paĩ Tomás of Dourados.) As for sexual relations, they are thought of, so I have heard, as a coadjutant factor, not always strictly indispensable for conception.

• 794 With the exception of two Ñandéva doctor-sorcerers,
756 Fernando and Hilário, from the village of Jacareĩ, and perhaps
115 one or another Kayová, all the experts on Guaraní doctrine with whom I worked admitted as certain the plurality of the human soul. Those two specialists, however, insisted premptorily that man has only one soul, ñanénẽ (gué), which is in the chest. Perhaps they were closer to the ideas that were dominant in pre-Jesuit times.

794 The most characteristic doctrine is that of the Ñandéva, for whom, aside from the exceptions mentioned, the soul is composed of several units, two or more in number, but in any case belonging to two basic categories, the spiritual tendencies, on the one hand, and the vital and instinctive ones on the other hand. The
[171] pluralist concept of the soul is obviously not peculiar to the Guaraní and much less to the Ñandéva subgroup, for it has been reported innumerable times among South American native tribes.
794 But the reduction of this plurality to an opposition between the
179 spiritual manifestations and the vital tendencies of the individual
797 seems to constitute an exceptional case, which may perhaps be accounted for by the /115/ Jesuit catechism. True, the missionaries did not teach the Guaraní that a man is the bearer of two souls, but the idea of good and bad inclinations in constant opposition and struggle within each one, plus the moral demand

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774 179 797 that passions be overcome by prayer and by the practice of the virtues, might easily lead the Indian to personify the two forces or tendencies, taking them as entities, in analogy, by the way, to the way in which the personification of the different forces of nature is the cause of the plurality of the gods in the tribal theogony of these and other Indians. In the psychological conception of the Ñandéva one is dealing in the final analysis with the struggle between good and evil, transferred into the psychic life of each man: one good soul, of divine origin, which after death goes to heaven /Port. céu/, and another one, which will become bad or dangerous, all the worse and more dangerous the more the individual has let himself be led by his anti-social inclinations during his life. This in spite of the contradiction with ideas presented pages ago.

774 822 The fact that some Ñandéva talk about three souls instead of two seems not to have much importance. It is because the souls are visible in the form of shadows, ñané Ī, our shadow, of three different sizes. One falls in front or behind, one to the right, the other to the left. The one that falls in front or behind (ayvú-kuẽ-porĪvẽ) is the one that after death goes to heaven properly speaking (yvý), located above the yvýñomimbyré (or mythical paradise); the one on the left remains wandering over the ground, goes to live in the cemetery, is "bad" and is called anguéry (in life, atsýyguá); the one on the right remains wandering about in the air, "is better and does not do harm to anyone" (ñanderú Sebastião), it is called avyú(kuẽ) /sic/ (7).

7. /From p. 150 of the original source./ Poýdjú explained to me that the soul-shadow on the right is called okáña Ī vaé, being a bearer of illness to anyone who meets it after the death of the individual. Afterwards Sebastião contradicted him energetically, saying that "this being is produced right here on earth; it is not the soul of a person, it is the saci /see p. 201 f./." Poýdjú accepted the rectification.

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774 822 admitting that Sebastião, in the capacity of Ñanderú, is more competent. Poýdjú, who claims to have become one who prays after he became old, spontaneously confesses, by the way, his ignorance in many things concerning religious doctrine. Many others, principally men of middle age, declare themselves incompetent in matters of theology and religion.

774 [192] Ayvú properly means language; sometimes one also hears someone say ñeẽ, speech. The ayvú -- or the several ayvú, as the case may be -- is of divine origin, that is, it shares the nature of the supernatural spirits. It is responsible for the desires, feelings, and the noblest manifestations of the individual. [191] The basic, primordial function of the soul is to confer upon man the gift of language; thus the designation. It is an interesting 774 fact because of showing that the idea of interhuman communica- 824 tion is placed first, in consonance, by the way, with the philosophy 156 of life, characteristic of tribal societies, that looks at the human being above all as a social animal, as a fragment of the group. The individual has value socially to the extent that he is part 774 of the community and communicates with his comrades. Furthermore, the Ñandéva "psychologist" tries to explain the play of individual inclinations and tendencies. Just as in this play /116/ distinct and sometimes contradictory traits can be isolated, nothing is more natural than to consider the soul divided up into several component units.

The atsýyguá, constituting primarily the basis of biological existence and of the hormic manifestations, always corresponds to the nature or disposition of some animal; it therefore represents the animal character of the person or, as I have also heard said, the "incarnate genius." Perhaps in this case the psychologists of the Western world would use the term temperament or what [828] has come to correspond to it in modern times. Good and peaceable [825] fellow-tribesmen have the atsýyguá of a butterfly, a hummingbird,

2: Schaden--146 E-4,5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

/116 cont./

774 828 825 or some other nice bird; bad persons, that of a venomous snake; violent ones, that of a wasp; indolent ones, that of a caterpillar (mandó rová); roguish ones, that of a monkey. While the seat of the ñeẽ or ayvú is the chest; that of the atsýyguá is the lower part of the face, including the jaws, but particularly the bucal region. The similarity with this or that animal, which sometimes is believed to be found in the shape of the mouth of this or that fellow villager, is an expression of his atsýyguá (8).

8. /From p. 150 of the original source./ "On the other hand," writes Nimuendajú, "I know a young woman from the horde of the Oguauíva, called Potá; she is quick and a little mischievous, and it is considered proven that she is the bearer of the acyiguá of a sai. This is because once, when Potá was little, an old doctor-sorceress, highly competent in these matters, heard the characteristic whistle of that species of monkey coming from her neck, the seat of the acyigua" (Nimuendajú, 1914, p. 305). Such a doctrine concerning the seat of the atsýyguá, which is not in accordance with the data collected by me, perhaps agrees better with certain beliefs of the ancient Tupinambá.

[262] What a person eats also nourishes the atsýyguá. Thus the desire that sometimes comes over us to eat a certain dish -- sometimes fish, sometimes beef or pork, sometimes chicken -- is considered a manifestation of the animal soul.

774 828 [775] Not only the ñeẽ or ayvú, which is given by Ñanderú and which after death returns to him, but also the atsýyguá "come already at birth," according to the words of the ñanderú Sebastião, "but in the children it is still very small"; it only exists as germ (9).

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 148]

9. /From pp. 150-151 of the original source./ Poýdjú, although he supports the theory of the

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774 828 three souls in every human being, has heretical ideas regarding the atsýyguá. For him all are bearers of ayvú, but not all are bearers of atsýyguá; and he does not admit the Portuguese word "alma" /soul/ to designate it. "Only bad people have it, it is their badness." If [753] someone arrogantly comes to quarrel with me, and if after a while I get sick, it is said "Aé yatsýyguama," it was he who did harm. By [755] means of a "little blessing" /Port. "benzinho"/ the ñanderú can get rid of the atsýyguá. -- 184 774 828 755 This interpretation, in which the Catholic will immediately perceive an analogy to the absolution from sins, is not endorsed by the Ñandéva most versed in the orthodox doctrine, insofar as it is possible to use this expression. Marçal, for example, told me: "The ñanderú cannot take away the atsýyguá, because then the person would die." And he told of the case of a child that cried all the time and did not want to suck. The ñanderú prescribed to the mother that she should hang around the child's neck the beak of a parrot (parakáu); this beak blocked the view of the mother's atsýyguá, which was a snake 774 828 755 coiled up in her breast. -- What can be taken away are the prayers sent by the atsýyguá, when already transformed into the anguéry. The soul, [775] which after death remains wandering over the ground (anguêry, shade /Port. assombração/)," the ñanderú Sebastião explained to me, "sometimes also gives a prayer, but it is not good; the person should not take the prayer otherwise he remains changed and talks non- [753] sense." João Américo of Itariri, when he was living at Araribá, "caught" one of these prayers, became half crazy, and fell ill. Sebastião,

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774 828 755 early one morning (around four o'clock; he told me that this is the hour when the spirits usually come in contact with men), went to his house and "took away" the prayer from him. The next morning he already sharpened his hoe and went to work. In the process of "taking away" [756] [624] the bad prayer, the flanderú is helped by the yvyráídjá: the women strike the takuápú: the flanderú only gives the order to take the prayer away: then the spirits of the yvyráídjá take the bad spirit and send it where it came from. -- 774 828 The ayvú and the ayvúporãvê send prayers too, but good ones. More will be said about the prayers later. Here, however, it is necessary to note the pure and simple identification of the "bad prayer" with the "bad spirit," the probable root of Poýdjú's conception. Also see note 5 /see p. 140/.

because it "has not committed a sin, it is innocent" (recourse to the Christian concept in order to explain a traditional ideal); the atsýyguá develops with the "sins," the "extravagance" practiced by the adults. Thus, there are atsýyguá more or less developed: 774 those of the "disturbers of the peace" and "bullies" are the most 775 dangerous ones after death, when they are transformed into 828 anguêry. The atsýyguá of the individual, Sebastião insisted, [825] is revealed by the fact that he resembles this or that animal, macaco, fox, snake, monkey /Port. bugio/, dog, cat, "ugly people," and so forth: "when he dies, he becomes exactly that, 775 to wander over the ground." It is thus the anguêry that is sometimes heard crying out at night, far away, in a wailing voice. It is what disappears from the body when the latter has decomposed. It kills children and even adults. For that, it is sufficient to see it. It roams along the roads and other places at certain hours: more or less from eleven at night to one in the morning: then it returns to its place in the cemetery. Anguêry oguatá pỹtũmbyté

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775 the exceptions, as represented by the ideas of old Pedro Pires
828 of Itariri, who, although profesing the religion of his ancestors,
177 has already been greatly influenced by contact with the Christian population of the Paulista coast. He told me the following: "Anguêry is the soul of people, of sinners, who have not had salvation: they stay in the world as a shade, making 'faces' /Port. 'visages'/. Those that are without sin, their spirit goes to stay at the feet of Ñanderuvuasú, who is God. Nothing stays here in this world, or if anything stays, it is very little. This little that stays may also be a little troublesome, it is a little soul" (sic!). These are words that show very well the direction in which the
• 774 transformation of the ancient ideas is taking place. There has
178 already been lost the notion of a plurality of the human soul, which is still alive in almost the totality of the Indians of the
[828] tribe. Even so, for Pedro Pires too, the substance of the soul is divided into a good part and a bad part, the latter developing in the course of the earthly existence of the individual, in accordance with the reprovable acts that he practices. It is as though there were a pure portion and another impure one not deserving of heaven.

775 In one more essential point the anguêry differs from our "wicked spirit"; bad intentions do not affect it, and for its part there is no desire to bring about the perdition of anyone at all. /118/ It is not a Mephisto, but rather a "poor devil" who perhaps even feels sorry about the harm that he causes. Thus it resembles, as I have already indicated, the "troubled soul" that suffers in purgatory, deserving the compassion of those who live here on this world.

[776] The relations that the divine part of the soul of the deceased maintain with the surviving companions are analogous to those that bind the protector spirits (yvyrâídja) to their protected
[787] ones. It appears in dreams to the members of the family, brings them prayers, gives them good advice, and even, as we have just seen, is able to give them the children that will be born or reborn in the family.

2: Schaden--151 E-4,5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

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With the rebirth of the deceased, explains Sebastião, not only does the ayvukuê(porãvê) return, but also the corresponding atsýyguá. Which is to say that the anguêry disappears and there is no longer any shade. It is then said: "Oñimangá djevý kó yvýpy," he was reborn, that is, he died and returned to this earth. The interesting idea that merits being noted here is that of a kind of involution through which the atsýyguá goes, in order to take up its childish form again, either embryonic or only potential, with which to start its career on the earth's surface again. Thus, in spite of the psychological theory of the innate qualities, the Guaraní makes the individual character depend on the experiences that he goes through in the course of his life, on the things that he practices, and by which his atsýyguá develops more or less. In the final analysis, behavior does not stem from the character, but the character from the behavior.

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In spite of the common foundation of the collective representations that form the skeleton of the psychological doctrine of the Ñandéva, we see that any attempt at a categorical and rigid description would be illusory, because the basic scheme is capable of more or less individualistic elaboration and variation, according to the religious experience of each priest or the vigor of his imagination. From village to village the researcher thus notes the existence of new ideas and the absence of others; from village to village he records peculiar transformations and accretions, owing to the uniqueness of the historical situation of the interethnic contacts to which the group has been subjected.

The same is evidently true for the other subgroups. Thus just as the Ñandéva psychological doctrine presented here is diverging, sometimes in one direction, sometimes in another, from what Nimuendajú left us, that of the Mbüá does not agree -- or does not now agree -- with the one that Cadogan found among the Indians of the Paraguayan Guaíra (11).

11. /From p. 151 of the original source./ Cadogan, 1962.

2: Schaden--152 E-4, 5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

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What is /119/ presented in these pages is that of the village of Rio Branco, collected principally from the lips of my friend Capitão Francisco, who, although he does not use the title ñanderú, is a family chief with an active and intense religious life.

For the Mbüá, according to the source indicated, the human being is divided into txereẽ ("my body") and txeñeẽ (my spirit, or in literal translation, "my tongue" or "speech"). In spite of this summary designation for the soul, there is the idea of plurality, in consequence, we might say, of an attempt at analytical comprehension of txeñeẽ from the point of view of its qualities and inclinations. In contrast to what is given for the Ñandéva, the biotic tendencies of man do not constitute an "animal" soul of the individual for the Mbüá, as Cadogan also observed in the group studied by him (12).

12. /From p. 151 of the original source./
Cadogan, 1952, p. 33.

The Mbüá (Rio Branco) admit the existence of three souls in each individual, two good ones and one bad one, which are manifested through communication, that is, by means of language and a process that we might call comparable to telepathy. The bad soul and one of the good ones produce good representations or manifestations relative to other persons, who may be found in the vicinity as well as at great distances. It is therefore a matter of the person in his relations with other human beings. The third human soul, a kind of protector spirit, has charge of the individual's safety, for example, keeping watch over him when he is asleep alone in the forest. It is not, as it might appear, a being distinct from the man, as the Christian Guardian Angel is, but an integral part of his person (somewhat like the demon of Plato) and is likewise called ñeẽ. It is even the first of the three souls sent by God, like, say, the initial nucleus of the personality.

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774 828 Although a few lines above it was insisted that the designation ñeẽ is a name adequate for putting the faculty of communication in the first rank, it is obvious that for the Mbüá, too, the soul is not reduced to this. After all it is necessary to have something to be communicated, particularly the inclinations and impulses of the individual, his desires, which for every Guaraní seem to constitute the essence of his soul. The Mbüá divides them up into two categories, the good ones and the wicked ones, speaking therefore of good and bad souls. In this sense the terms good and wicked do not translate an ethical evaluation, but a purely naturalistic distinction, more or less like strong and weak, or beneficial and dangerous. And, bearing in mind the communitary mentality of primitive man, it is not surprising that this dualism refers especially to the attitudes and the behavior of the individual before his fellow tribesmen.

774 /120/ The seat of the soul -- or the souls -- is not a particular part of the body, but the whole body. Furthermore, the ñeẽ are characterized by a relatively free and autonomous existence, that is, they exist independently of the body, being able to leave it, one by one, and going to distant regions. If at a given moment, for example, someone thinks of me in faraway Mato Grosso, being angry with me or even wishing me harm, it is because my bad soul has met the one belonging to him there in the forest, irking it. Conversely, the unexpected recollection of an Indian friend who accompanied me on some trip into the interior or something else of the sort is nothing other than a visit with which his good soul (or one of his good souls) treats me.

[761] The three souls come and go through the vertex, moving freely through space; on the hypothesis, however, that all abandon the body at one time, the person dies.

761 [755] Incidentally, the day of death is already determined at the time of birth. Everyone comes into the world bearing his destiny. This also explains why the best of the doctor-sorcerers does not always succeed in saving the patient's life. "Sinners" do not go

775 to the sky immediately. Their "spirit" remains roaming about in an intermediate region until the body is completely decomposed. Only then does the good part have permission to enter

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775 heaven, while the bad part remains going about on earth as a
[783] shade. Thus we notice that "sin" is simply a manifestation of the bad part of the human soul. At death the bad part of the soul, which the Mbüá call mboguá (Francisco also uses the word anguêry, more common in the other two subgroups of the tribe), goes to live in the cemetery; "at night, it does not know where to sleep, leaves, and goes that way."

774 828 From all this it is seen that, in spite of the tripartition of the soul -- originating perhaps, like the notion of "sinner," from a poorly understood Christianity -- it is a matter here, as has already been explained above, of a genuine psychological dualism. For, understood as the faculty of exteriorization of the man within the context of the community, the soul is divided, for the Mbüá, into social and antisocial inclinations. Badness or wickedness are equivalent to the tendency to quarrel,
[184] the spirit of rebellion. One trait, however, which seems to distinguish the Mbüá (and the Kayová) psychology from that of the Ñandéva is that in it the negative part of the human soul is connected less to the instinctive life of the human being.

The above psychological theory was recorded, as we said, among the Mbüá of the village of Rio Branco. Explanations ob-
[184] tained in other groups diverge from it. Thus, the religious chief of the Mbüá of Itariri /121/ admits the existence of four souls in each person, one located in the head, another one in the heart,
[537] and two that remain outside, caring for the individual. According to the textual words of the informant: Txeé irundy ñeẽkuéry areko; peteĩ areko txepyáre, peteĩ areko txeakãre, mokõi areko okápe, oñgarekóva txerehé.

Unfortunately the data that I have about the "psychological theory" of the Kayová are too desparate and incongruent for one to
[184] be able to attempt a systematization. It is certain that the Kayová, too, in a general way profess the dualist doctrine, more or less in the Ñandéva sense. The sublime part of the soul, of celestial origin, is the ñeẽ or ayvú, respectively ñeẽguẽ or ayvúkuẽ. For the less good part, they gave me the name anguêry

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774 828 [776] (also with reference to the living individual, which I regard as doubtful). The ayvú are an incarnation of tavýterã, celestial beings or spirits ("ñandedjára"), which, in the religious sphere, are identified with the Kayová tribe itself: there are, by the way, several categories of tavýterã, one of them called verándydjú. After death, the ayvúkuẽ of the adult goes to 775 [776] meet Ñyapúguasú, god of thunder. It also goes to yvaýñemondehẽ, where it puts on resplendent garments: the place is also called kañinguẽry rupá ("place of the souls of the dead"), which, however, does not mean abode, because the souls do not reside at a fixed point of the firmament, traversing, on the contrary, all the celestial regions in the company of the gods. For the state of [192] happiness of the dead, they gave me the denomination ñemyrõ, a term that in the common Guaraní means "to be offended." -- [776] The ayvúkuẽ of a child, contrary to what happens with that of an adult, is immediately transformed into a bird (called guyrárovádjú), in order to fly without delay to the presence of Ñandesy ("our mother"), who seems to be the lady of the celes- [828] tial region called yrukuãtýtétã. The less good part of the soul, the one that becomes anguẽry, is being formed during the earthly existence of the individual. As the child is "innocent" and "has not traversed places" (as I heard it said in Amambai), it has no anguẽry.

782 796

3. The prayer, manner of union between the world of the living and the supernatural one

[192] The recourse always at hand that the Guaraní has at his disposal to provoke and at the same time to give vent to his religious experiences is the /122/ porahẽi, or prayer. The [533] porahẽi is always sung and requires the accompaniment of [534] mbaraká and takuápú for marking the rhythm of the dance. Song, dance (djiroky), and instrumental sound thus constitute a unity. The porahẽi is sometimes communitarian depending

/122 cont./

782 then played on the radio. Learning of the event, the Indians
424 considered it a profanation, and one of them later decisively
114 refused to teach me his prayers, saying: "I do not want you to
[123] put them on the radio" (13).

13. /From p. 151 of the original source./ It should be remembered, by the way, that this makes the work of the anthropologist much more difficult among the faithful Ñandéva, when it is a matter of studying their religion. Considered sacred, the knowledge should not be transmitted to anyone whose moral behavior and whose religious mentality are not well known. My informants at Jacarei confessed to me that they were afraid of being killed by Ñandedjára, if he found out that they had revealed to me what they knew. "Ñandedjára txedjuká," said Hilário. Among the Mbüá of Rio Branco, on the other hand, I was told that there was the danger of strangers abusing the transmitted knowledge "to do harm" (black magic?) to the Indians.

[115] [784] [796] [829]

782 It is not easy to find out what the nature of the porahêi is,
775 in the opinion of the Guaraní. Sometimes one has the impression
774 that it is a matter /123/ of some quasi material, something like an object, that one can or cannot possess. Thinking of his prayer, the Indian obviously proceeds to a kind of reification, which is noted, for instance, when in the appeal he talks about "taking away" a prayer from someone (when "possessed"). On the other hand, it is, so to speak, personified into a kind of spirit or soul that is incarnated in the individual, to enrich his inner life and manifest
[192] itself through him. In this connection, it should once more be remembered that "soul" is translated ñeẽ or ayvú, that is, language
782 or human speech. Some refer to the "force" of the prayer, mean-
778 ing, apparently, the magic power that is inherent in it and,
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/135 cont./

775 764 372 And, as could not fail to be the practices reflect in some way the ideas about the destiny of the soul of the deceased. Over the grave is lighted -- Mbüá, Ñandéva, and Kayová -- a small fire /136/ especially on the night of the interment. The Kayová say they do it for the soul to find the road to the Beyond, a usage [114] which might be taken as a reinterpretation, in native terms, of an originally Christian practice were it not for the evidence to the contrary, the information contained in ancient sources concerning other Tupí-Guaraní (16).

16. /From p. 152 of the original source./ Of the three recommendations that the Tupinambá made to the dead, the first was that they should not let the fire go out (d'Evreux, 1929, p. 167). Other related tribes also believed in the need for illumination for the soul to make the dangerous journey to the Beyond and not become lost in the dark regions that it has to cross. See, for instance, Métraux, 1928 b, p. 122.

The fire is lighted immediately after the burial: when it is the case of a child, sometimes they content themselves with one or two candles. The fire is considered indispensable on the grave [115] of the adults. Marçal, my principal and best informant, told me the Ñandéva explanation, adding that he did not know whether it was also valid for the Kayová: the ñeẽgué of the deceased, carrying the memory of all the places traversed during life, feels the need to see them all again after death, only afterwards does it go to the Beyond; the fire serves it for illumination. The same informant told me that, for the Ñandéva, the deceased sometimes "manifests" himself to the survivors by means of cries, weeping, or some other way; it is because the ñeẽgué is in need of light. Someone then goes to the cemetery to light a candle or a fire on the grave. [774] It is to be noted, by the way, that, according to this explanation, it is the ñeẽgué (originally only the sublime part of the human soul) that needs the light, while a person "who does

2: Schaden--178 E-4, 5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

/136 cont./

not have entrance to the sky," that is to say, who is not accepted because of a disorderly life, returns to roam about on earth without rest, becoming transformed into an anguéry. A doctrine which obviously takes into account less primitive concepts, since it replaces the belief in the duality of the human soul by the Christian notion of reward and condemnation.

At the Pôsto Indígena Curt Nimuendajú (Araribá), where the burial is usually done in hammocks (unless the post administrator provides a wooden box), the graves are decorated on the Day of the Dead in the same way as the Christian ones are, but, on the other hand, they keep the custom of putting on the tomb the objects that belonged to the deceased, especially in the case of children. When a child dies, they put on the grave the toys left behind by it and on the following days go to take the things that they still find; on the tombs of adults they place the porunga /water container/ that the deceased -- or rather the deceased woman -- used for carrying water, besides other objects of personal use.

The "odds and ends" that belonged to the deceased, and which are not buried with him, are placed on the tomb for an unlimited time. At the cemetery of the Pôsto Indígena Benjamim Constant there was a vast number of things: bottles, porongos, calabashes, shoes, bows, dishes, pots and pans, and so on. Exposed to the weather, these objects are gradually /137/ destroyed; it also happens, as Capitão Alberto told me, that the better things are "stolen" by some interested person. The temptation, in fact, must be great. I have not been able to find out whether there is actually an idea that the "spirit" (anguéry) of the dead person can utilize the "odds and ends" that he used during his life (17).

17. /From p. 152 of the original source./ No calabash is left on the grave, aside from those that belonged to the dead man or woman, contrary to what V. D. Watson states, 1944, p. 40.

Among the Mbüá I was told that the material goods of the deceased

RELIGION

776 The great personages of *Apapocuva-Guaraní* mythology deserve the title of gods though they remain aloof from the affairs of this world. Creators and Transformers, they continue to exist and men yearn to live [773] in their company. Some day they will destroy the world which they have 776 created and shaped. The most majestic deity is the Creator, Ñanderuvuçú, 772 Our Great Father, who now resides in a dark region which he lights with the glimmer of his chest. His wife, who was also the first woman, Ñandeçy, Our Mother, has her abode in the west in the Land-Without-Evil. According to Vellard (1939 a, p. 169), the main deity of the *Mbyá* is Ñamandu who lives in the east and gives life to the world. Tupã is the deity of the west. The north belongs to Yahira, the god of vengeance and 776 death. Vellard (1939 a, p. 171) quotes prayers to Ñamandu in which he 782 is asked for game or for good health, but there is no evidence of a cult 771 of the Creator among the *Apapocuva*.

776 The *Paĩ'* and *Mbyá*, who in the past have certainly been subject to [784] Jesuit influences, recognize Tupã as the Creator and High God. Among [791] the *Apapocuva*, whose ancient traditions seem unimpaired, Tupã, son of Ñandeçy, is a secondary nature deity, the personification of the thunder. [824] He is a short man, with woolly hair, who causes a storm every time he crosses the skies in his wooden trough in the company of Thunder Birds. The original nature of this secondary god, promoted to an exalted position among acculturated *Guaraní*, is still present in the memory of his worshippers, who refer to him as "The Great Thunder," "The Great Noise," or [821] "Master of Thunder." Under him, minor Tupã are respectively lords of [784] the rain, hailstorm, lighting, and thunder (*Paĩ'*). A stock of traditional [782] prayers which these Indians address to their God whenever in need of [797] help betrays Christian influences.

[796] Certain rites observed by the *Apapocuva* and even by the ancient *Guaraní* can be interpreted only as worship of the sun, whom the *Apapocuva* call "Our Father." Sun is given as the Son of Our Great Father or of Tupã.

774 **Animism.**—According to the *Apapocuva*, two souls coexist in every man. One, called ayvucué, comes from the mansion of some deity in the west, zenith, or east, and enters the body immediately after birth. This soul is identified with a peaceful disposition, gentleness, and a craving for vegetables; but the temperament of a person is conditioned by the animal soul (acyiguá), which he harbors in the nape of his neck. Patient and friendly people may have a butterfly soul; whereas a jaguar soul makes a man cruel and brutal. Unrest, violence, malice, and lust for meat are generally ascribed to the acyiguá.

[828] Dreams are experiences of the soul and are paid great attention, [787] especially by shamans, who derive their supernatural knowledge and power [756] from them.

5: Métraux E-4 (no date) 1948 SM4 Guarani SM4
Apapocuva

A shaman is a man who owns a great many magic chants, which he uses for the common good of his people. He must also be capable of leading a ceremonial dance, of playing the rattle gourd in the different modes, and of performing the rites befitting certain circumstances. The main test of his skill is offered by the harvest dance, which can be successfully organized only by full-fledged shamans. By his "voltes" and jumps, the shaman endeavors to make his body "light." He must also have frequent dreams, because they give him superior knowledge and insight into the future.

The ancient *Guaraní* and even many modern groups assign disease to the intrusion of an object into the body. The *Apapocuva* visualize the source of the illness as an invisible substance that the shaman sees after he has chanted for several hours. The treatment's aim is to extract that substance and to endow the patient with magic power.

Legends and historical traditions both attest the extraordinary prestige enjoyed by some shamans of old who were leaders of their tribes. After receiving their inspiration, these great men retired into the wilderness, where they lived on celestial food. By constant dancing some *Apapocuva-Guaraní* shamans gradually subjugated their animal soul, strengthening their ayvucué, or peaceful soul, until they could fly toward the heavenly Land-Without-Evil.

Among ancient *Guaraní* great medicine men worked miracles by their chants. With their saliva they caused death. They were strong enough to drag a whole tribe across a large river. They claimed absolute control of all natural phenomena, including stars. After their death, their bones, kept as relics in luxurious hammocks hung in special huts, were worshiped and consulted as oracles. Ordinary shamans added to their prestige by sleight of hand.

Shamans are not only responsible for the religious life, but also interfere in the administration of justice. Whenever a succession of misfortunes is imputed to witchcraft, the shaman unmasks the sorcerer, who is savagely killed. The shamans' political power derives, naturally, from their prestige and from the fear which they inspire. Usually, witchcraft is blamed on a neighboring tribe. Sorcerers kill their victims by practicing witchcraft on their exuviae.

MYTHOLOGY

The high-sounding names of the main characters in the *Apapocuva-Guaraní* mythology tinge it with a solemnity quite foreign to the versions of the same motifs collected elsewhere.

The story of the creation is told in impressive terms. At the beginning there was darkness, and the Eternal Bats fought in the night. Our Great Father found himself and created the earth, which he propped on the Eternal Cross. With him was a companion, Our-Father-Who-Knows-Everything. Our Great Father made a woman, Our Mother, whom he